7/6/71

Dear Js,

Your 7/1 provides a welcome opponrtunity to change what is and has been in my mind, so I lay the other letters in today's mail aside and while awaiting the arrival of a volunteer informant now 2:15 overdue, at least begin to respond.

I do wish you'd not feel obligated to answer at the cost of sleep. It is more than enough that one of us is disciplined to sleep to little, no reason for us all to wear out prematurely.

I think that in carbons I've set me beliefs of the N.O. flap(s) forth, but I'll answer the specific things you mention. From recollection, I may be wrong on details. I was not aware of any Gervais separation from the PD, his actual employer, as with all DA investigators except the two losers JG got, the first at Lane's bidding: Jaffe and Boxley. In 1965 he became too great a burden and he resigned. He has then twice stolen the entire boodle that was to have been divided among all those taking the organized and channelled graft. He was, rather than an enemy, the man closest to JG. He stayed this way. When I first got to N.O., JG did not trust any of his staff he size me up. Loisel kept me company in the coffee shop of the Fountainbleu until Gervais cme and visited with us for a while.

You are correct on the sequence in the announcements, and I'd like to have copies of all of this. Mitchell did make the first announcment, and under conditions guaranteeing maximum presence an attention, his and t e President's attedance upon the graduation of the FBI Academy, where Hoover always is. This is, I think, one of the factors on which ultimate legal decisions may hinge, part of my desire for copies of all. Mitchell made the announcement after the ceremonies. I have not seen the text of either. I've asked DJ for all, but that is like asking a lesbian to bed.

Perhhing must have become fabulously wealthy on and after the PD. He enjoyed life much and obviously, lived well and happily. He was always smiling, always jolly, never indirect or secretive about his own crookedness. Kind of enjoyed the forthrightness, that is, he did and I did. I think he was this way with almost everyone. So, I think that to get him to live the way he ll have to spend the rest of his life, hiding from the mob, with the FBI in constant attendance/guard, ~~to~~ really did have to be something very much, like death, which he now has to fear anyway.And the FBI has a fetish of not losing informants, so they have problems, too. Something much bigger than getting JG must be involved, for the cost is too great and, unless the law is stretched, as the current adm, tries constantly, one of the costs is the acquittal of everyobe if, indeed, any can be brought to trial now, with the extent and nature of the publicity.

On the PPs flap: ypu might want to consider that the SC decision is not a total victory, that in a different context the result would have been different, and that this may yet happen in the criminal proceedings that seem in prospect....I agree with your basic presumption, that when good t ings come to pass, it is usually not for good reasons. However, I think it also possible to believe that in this case the motives of the Times may have been honorable. They have done this sort of thing, on smaller scale, in the past, as in sending Salisbury to Hanoi (which killed their second JFK inv.). I think that if Ellsberg was their source and he told them that Fullbright had been sitting on this for a year, theymay have done it on principle. Perhaps not without a major inner fight. But bearing on the commercial aspects, I knew from the first that a book, now due within two weeks, was also in the works. Bantam. I think it was announced right after the SC decision.

If you are not aware of it, there was not a single source. The Post didn't get their copies from the Times, for example. Where I think you are on the button is in suggesting a CIA leak. I think there were multiple leaks, each with ulterior purposes, Ellsberg's honorable, the spooks' to make them look like the good guys in white hats. The problem with all of thisis the great damage it does to the professional military, to its credibility and corruption-smeared face, to its conspiracies to get us into wars, which I'll address is a simple, comprehensible instance that will suit you in TIGER. They are the real villains. But the PPS not leaked by the CIA smear them, too, as they probably anticipated, accounting for what they spread around.

I think you should temper your judgement that the WH is now willing to seriously consider the NLF proposal. Nixon gives this appearance while having every other spokesman say it is impossible. Aside from his disporition toward authoritarianism and his affinity for the mil-ind complex, he has the very real problem of causing a depression by the very slight reduction in military spending complicated by his inability to withdraw troops for Europe to reduce it when it hurts the ecomony most. Thestupidity of this guerrilla war is that none of the big brains in the mil-ind complex understood it is not the kind they require for real profits and priming the economy/corporate pumps. Can't use enough of the right kind of stuff. They can use up helicopters and men, many big bombs, but little of the kind of profititable junk, as in static, positional warfare with big, organized armies. So, while Nixon may appear to be wanting to end it, he dare not, for many reason, and he will not, for he has already expanded and formalized the earlier expansion into adjacent lands. He has talked only of withdrawal from Viet Nam and then only under conditions leaving our finks in control of a divided lan. Nobody will accept that and our finks can't pull it. In short, talky-talk, but as you saym he can't be re-elected without some such achievement. The alternative os severe repression. To that he has already started to turn. JG may be part. Chicago was the conspicuous beginning, although there were earlier things, and the new use of new law. Plus the changing interpretations of old.

I do not think it likely that as an official act any responsible top one in the adm leaked these papers because they depend upon the holiness of the war and the support and loyalty of the military. Upon whom else but some cops can they depend?

Of all, I agree the CIA looks best, for where they did dirty things, everyone will conclude the did not set policy, merely took orders, which is false and true.

Meanwhile, prosecuting Ellsberg will present some problems because they have not located any of the others who leaked and it can be proven that high officials did exactly the same thing, for Presidents down. That is a lousy case to take to court, and he'll be flooded with offers of help from the nation's top news people who can and would give first-person accounts, with names, dates, material, etc. There will be big trouble with this save possibly for Nixon personally, for the types he'd have trusted are least likely to come forward.

Agreed on the CIA. In COUP I called them the government of the government, an advance over the "Invisible Government" (great book). Wise/Ross's chapter on Laos is an excellent exposition of how thye fix policy and bind the President so he can do nix.

The added problems with believing that the administration was responsible for or even desired leaks is that in the total picture, going back to Truman, everybody looks bad, including Ike, whose v.p. Tricky was. His record (with Dulles(you should recall. Atom bomb, take over from French, finance them (which we did, 80% as I recall).

The harrassment is much broader than you put it, against freedom of information. That is merely part, the part of most concern to those of us who deal with info. There is no less significance in the departures from the law and Constitution, the effort to broaden int rpretations, the packing of the courts, etc, and the attacks on the

most militant, blacks, young, etc.

Bad days are upon us. We are fortunate in the excesses of the stupid and evil but powerful, as in going after CBS and threatening Times, Post, etc. I think they'll back down if the decision gets out of Mitchell-Kleindinest control. Either way they'll win, for they have hit the press in its most tender nerve, the $$$$$ nerve. And thgy will have them scared, if they do not prosecute. I hope they do, for that will limit the choices of the copouts.

I would encourage you to pay close attention to Burger and what he says. He has a political, not a judicial role. That is just his cover. Years ago he was Nixon's inside wrecker, when he was in DJ. Some of his stuff was so raw, as in Peters case, that the solicitor general, in even the mcCarthy era, refused to take the case to the Supreme Court and, as I now recall, Burger did it himself. Peters was a Harvard doctor of some kind. Loyalty/security, and this is the kind of stuff Burger leaked. Can you conceive a better temperament for a man in his position today, if youx understand the main purpose is to change the character of society?....

I've also backgrounded Paul Valentine of the Post on the McGovern "threat" this a.m. He is fascinated and agrees with me. I read it to him over the phone and he copied it word for word, line for line. He agrees that there was a constable from Barnstable in the Chappaquidick case. If you recall anything on this, please fill me in, here I would ask as soonas you can. Also, if you recall the nursery rhyme of that title, as I think there was one. And, can you think of anything covered, if in ellipsis, by "fission chips" and "The Gxix Glebe and Mouse nightspot"? The e is a Glebe Road in Arlington, Va. One of the main ones there.

With self-invited guest not arrived after 3 hrs, I'm about to take a pre-lunch dip with Lil, who has made good progress but has had a bit more discomfort for four-five days. I'm really trying to do some rebuilding these days and most mornings take what for me is a stiff walk in mountains like yours. A brisk half-hour almost straight up, by which time returning down does feel too easy! Feels good, tho.

And as long as Lil clips and sees the funs stuff, I'll send, except now I have to send some, like this a.m.'s excellent Herblock cartoon, to Ivon, where it relates to repression and such.

Best,

Later, guestless, cooler: Whatever you have on Gervais, I'd welcome, even if it seems to duplicate what I've said. He and the federal legal misbehavior, the staging and timing are still gray areas. Everything about him is inconsistent, everything federal is wrong and the reasons are wrong, not accidental. That power corrupts is not sufficient explanation. I'd like to know too many answers, as could this be Hoover and his pressing needs alone (as Harrisburg could be explained this way, aside rom policy interets), why do they run what I regard as an enormous risk with Pershing, and especially by publicizing him and what he did, so utterly (legally)needlessly? And at this time. Why not later, wh n the political benefit could be greater? Has it any connection with the unusual attention Agnew has been paying to that area? So, here, especially, I'd appreciate every scrap...And do you know anything of deep USSR penetrations of RB 47s <u>before</u> U-2? Not urgent, but serious interest, with reason:report it happened and the Russian went wild-but quietly. Learned by monitoring, not their public statements, of which I recall none. ...enclosed is Lil's retyping of identified possibly related to threat. The Occam is the closest thing she could find to Ockie, signature. Valentine things ot may suggesy Yockey, for Francis Parker Yockey, whose mysterious death in your parts is fascinating. It was in jail. He wrote fascists bible, "Imperium". Rightist youth group named for him. ...Lil says that of several books Bible discussing same thing, the words fitting the return address are in Luke only.